

## Chapter 2

# Identifying and Documenting Africanisms on the American Landscape

*Through its cultural resources programs, the National Park Service has identified and formally recognized many historic places associated with African cultural heritage. African-related historic properties have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places, designated as National Historic Landmarks, documented through the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record, and addressed in conferences, such as “Places of Cultural Memory: African Reflections on the American Landscape.” This chapter provides a preliminary list of such historic places and summarizes their connection to African culture.*

The properties that have been recognized by NPS cultural resources programs include those that:

- are representative of ethnic heritage, as in the case of Congo Square
- embody distinctive characteristics, such as the shotgun homes in the Smoketown Historic District
- are associated with events and persons that have made significant contributions to the broad patterns of our history, such as the Stono River Slave Rebellion Site, and
- may yield or are likely to yield information important in prehistory or history, such as the African Burial Ground.

The list suggests the types of historic places that communities might consider for formal documentation and recognition.

## The National Register of Historic Places

The National Register of Historic Places is the nation's inventory of historic districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture at the national, state, and local levels. The National Register contains almost 75,000 properties and with nearly 1.2 million historic resources within those properties.

### Congo Square

*New Orleans, Louisiana*

As a gathering place for the enslaved population of New Orleans, Congo Square's significance lies in the events that took place there. On Sundays, enslaved people congregated at the plaza, just across the street from the French Quarter, as a respite from their daily toil. The dance and music ceremonies performed at Congo Square are integral to much of contemporary African American popular culture, and American popular culture. Descriptions of the dances, instrumentation, and songs, most notably by architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe during a visit in 1819, correspond with West African antecedents. The National Register nomination makes frequent reference to the importance of Africa to this place.<sup>(1)</sup>



**Illustration 10:**  
An aerial view of Congo Square in New Orleans shows the circular pattern intended to mimic the dances, as described by Latrobe, of the Africans who spent their leisure time there.

Photo courtesy of the Louisiana Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism

The founding of the colony of Louisiana by the French dates to 1702, and the first people of African descent arrived in 1719. By 1728, the Africans were almost exclusively from the Upper Guinea region, specifically Senegal and Gambia, which provided a homogeneous African identity.<sup>(2)</sup> Spanish rule in Louisiana dates from 1763 to 1800 and during this time the use of the Congo Square by Africans may have begun. The Spanish regime was more progressive than the French or English in their treatment of the enslaved Africans and was willing to allow them more autonomy and free time.

Today, the plaza still embodies the African influence. It is paved with an overlapping circular pattern in the brick courtyard intended to imitate the dances performed by Africans. (*Illustration 10*) As stated in the summary of the National Register nomination, “[t]his public open space is significant as the site, during the early 19th century, of traditional slave dances consciously preserving African dance patterns and musical instruments.” Congo Square, as a public space, serves as a cultural landscape, important for its ethnic heritage in the culturally diverse city of New Orleans.

## Smoketown Historic District

Louisville, Kentucky

### Illustration 11:

The 700 block of E. Breckenridge Street contains examples of camelback shotgun houses and single shotgun houses in the Smoketown Historic District in Louisville.

Photo courtesy of Roy Hampton



The Smoketown district is located in the easternmost section of central Louisville. An ethnically diverse neighborhood since its inception, Smoketown is an African American community that predates the Civil War. Originally, the area was settled by Quakers, followed by people of German descent, which were the most dominant cultural group until the late 1800s. The

neighborhood saw an increased influx of African Americans after the Civil War, making it the largest continuously occupied African American community in Louisville. Its longevity exceeds that of two other communities serving people of African descent, Browntown and Little Africa, in other sections of the city.



### Illustration 11a:

On the 900 block of S. Hancock Street, double shotgun houses sit side by side in the Smoketown Historic District.

Photo courtesy of Roy Hampton

The city and neighborhood were places of tertiary migration. People came from all over the South due to the belief that abolitionist General John

Palmer, commander of the Union forces in the area, would emancipate all African Americans present in Louisville on July 4, 1865. This migration continued, providing labor for the burgeoning industrial complex in Louisville. Smoketown was bordered by several factories, including a tobacco processing factory, which was the largest industry.

Smoketown has a large number of shotgun houses, a popular house type in industrial Louisville following the Civil War. The shotgun is derived from a Yorubá housing type via Haiti. The Yorubá house melded with the Arawak Indian *ajupá* or *bohío* to create the Haitian *caille*. From Haiti, it came to Louisiana with the influx of free Africans. Shotgun houses are narrow (roughly 12 feet wide), 2 to 3 rooms deep, aligned with the gable and front door facing the street, which are distinctive parts of the design. Theoretically, one could open all the doors

of the house, fire a bullet through and not disturb anything, hence “shotgun.” The shotgun house form traveled from Louisiana, up the interior waterways to Kentucky, Ohio, and Missouri with African Americans from the lower South. This housing type became popular in industrialized southern urban areas following the Civil War, when housing was needed in densely populated areas.

According to the National Register nomination, shotgun houses could be found as early as 1855 in this section of Louisville. *The Encyclopedia of Louisville* notes that the city of Louisville has four types of shotguns: single, double (two single-shotgun houses combined under one roof), camelback (with an additional story over the back room), and double camelback.<sup>(3)</sup> (*Illustrations 11 and 11a, page 25*) Presently, the shotgun house makes up approximately ten percent of the city’s housing stock.

### Christiansted Historic District

*St. Croix, Virgin Islands*

The Danish were the first of the European countries to develop a successful commercial endeavor on the island of St. Croix.

Enslaved Africans played a significant role in the development of the port town of Christiansted. They were employed as artisans and assisted in the construction of the many buildings found in the district. Hipped roof, single-story rectangular buildings with porches dot the landscape of the district. (*Illustration 12*) The building type is reminiscent of housing types from Ghana. The Africans in Christiansted passed through the Danish slave forts in what is now Ghana.<sup>(4)</sup>



**Illustration 12:**  
A northwest view of Market Street shows hipped roof houses in the foreground and the background in Christiansted Historic District, St. Croix, Virgin Islands, circa 1976.

Photo courtesy of Samuel N. Stokes

Through the labor of enslaved Africans, the Danish were able to establish a successful sugar production and export enterprise with the Danish West India and Guinea Company. Sugar cane cultivation has North and West African antecedents. There was also a substantial free African population, which played an important role in the development of the town. “Free Gut” is a residential area that was established for free blacks. According to the National Register nomination, the enslaved population reached over 27,000 as compared with approximately 5,000 European settlers and planters. With the sizable African descendant population, Christiansted Historic District is a primary migration stage. It potentially holds significant historical information about the lives of Africans immediately arrived from West Africa.

## National Historic Landmarks

Designated by the Secretary of the Interior, National Historic Landmarks are nationally significant historic places because they possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States. 2,341 historic places bear this distinction.

### African Burial Ground Complex

*New York, New York*

**Illustration 13:**  
Archeological investigation at the African Burial Ground has uncovered numerous examples of grave markers, such as headstones and cobbles.

Photo courtesy of Dennis Seckler



**Illustration 13a:**  
A tack-decorated coffin lid with “HW,” with the date 17[3]8 was found during excavations at the African Burial Ground National Historic Landmark.

Photo courtesy of Dennis Seckler

The African Burial Ground Complex holds an estimated 10,000 to 20,000 people of African descent interred since the early eighteenth century. The Burial Ground was in use from approximately 1712 to 1785.<sup>(5)</sup> It was rediscovered during the construction of a federal office building.<sup>(6)</sup> Administered by U.S. General Services Administration, the site is marked with a commemorative plaque and statue called “Triumph of the Spirit.” New York was the first place of contact with America for many of those interred. Therefore, the evidence found at the Burial Ground was interpreted through the lens of Africanisms.

The Burial Ground was an African place in New York. Anthropological research reveals the effects of the strenuous work regimes, dietary patterns, and genetic background of some of the earliest Africans in America. Archeological information illuminates the funerary practices of the various people: whether they were buried with or without a coffin, the orientation of their bodies to the cardinal points denoting religious affiliation, the personal objects that were interred with them, and the types of ceremonies that were conducted at the gravesite. All of these practices reveal much about the

ethnic background of those interred. (*Illustrations 13 and 13a, page 27*) The significance of the site is the link of cultural practices and items interred to West African people who were recently transported to the Americas.

### **Stono River Slave Rebellion Site**

*Near Rantowles, South Carolina*

On September 9-10, 1739, a group of 20 enslaved Africans gathered near the Stono River and commenced one of the most serious slave insurrections in the colonial period. The rebellion traveled from farm to farm, gaining recruits, and killing slaveholders along the way to its intended goal, Spanish-controlled St. Augustine, Florida. The slaveholders in the area eventually put down the rebellion some 12 miles south of its origin. At the conclusion of the rebellion, more than 60 British settlers died, and 40 of the estimated 80 enslaved Africans perished in the days and weeks following the revolt.

According to contemporary sources, the Rebellion was led by an Angolan named Jemmy and contained a number of Angolans in the original group. The National Historic Landmark documentation cites a report that the band of insurrectionists marched “like a disciplined company.” Accounts of the period note a banner, which the insurrectionists rallied around and from which they derived a source of confidence. Peter Wood, in *Black Majority*, references African traditions where some secret societies viewed banners as having protective abilities.<sup>(7)</sup>

The significance of a core group of people from the same general cultural zone cannot be underestimated. As a point of primary migration, South Carolina imported many Africans directly from Africa. Thus, cultural retentions were strong in South Carolina. Many of those sold into slavery were captives of wars between the rival African groups. They may have also shared mutually understandable languages. This familiarity allowed for a cohesiveness that was crucial to the relative success of the rebellion. Unlike other rebellions, there was no information leak or betrayal to the planters by any enslaved Africans in the Stono area. The insurrection led South Carolina to pass some of the most restrictive slave codes in the colonies. The National Historic Landmark property is being reevaluated for possible inclusion of the area where the Rebellion was finally stopped.

## Historic American Buildings Survey

The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) documents important architectural sites throughout the United States and its territories. The program is an integral component of the federal government's commitment to historic preservation. HABS documentation, consisting of measured drawings, large-format photographs, and written history, plays a key role in accomplishing the mission of creating an archive of American architecture and engineering.

### African Baptist Society Church

*Nantucket, Massachusetts*



**Illustration 14:**  
The African Baptist Society Church was measured and drawn as a part of the Historic American Building Survey program to record architecturally significant buildings throughout the nation.

Drawing courtesy of HABS

**Illustration 14a:**  
The 1968 photo of the African Baptist Society Church shows the church sitting in contrast to other buildings in its surroundings.

Photo courtesy of Jack Boucher, HABS



The African Baptist Society Church, or African School as it was also known, is the oldest remaining building in Nantucket associated with peoples from West Africa. As late as the end of the Revolutionary War, one-third of the African descendant population in Massachusetts had been born in Africa, creating an African cultural presence in the commonwealth. The building is located on land bought in 1826 for \$10.50 in a neighborhood called Newtown. The section of Newtown where the church resides was known as “Guinea.” The name historically refers to a broad region of West Africa, ranging from the Senegal River in Senegambia to Cameroon, covering much of the area from which enslaved Africans came.<sup>(8)</sup> Throughout the eastern seaboard, references to black sections of towns that were called “Guinea” can be found.

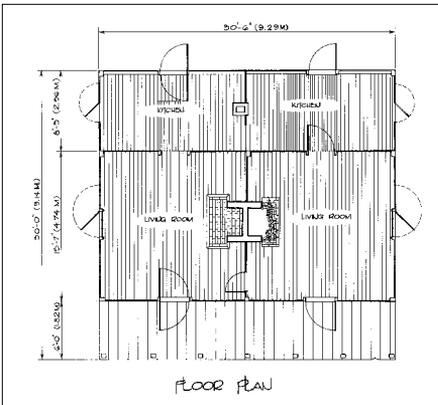
In Clay Lancaster's *The Architecture of Historic Nantucket*, the African Baptist Society Church is cited as “noteworthy... built at the corner of Pleasant [Street]...to serve the colored colony to the west.” Presumably built by members of the society, the building is unique to Nantucket, but bears resemblance to housing types found in the South where there were larger concentrations of people of African descent.<sup>(9)</sup> Photos of the surrounding homes and buildings show no structures of similar design. (*Illustrations 14 and 14a, page 29*)

**Illustration 15:**  
An orthographic architectural drawing of double Creole quarters notes the adaptation of a porch to the double pen-type vernacular housing.

Drawing courtesy of HAER

**Illustration 15a:**  
This photograph illustrates a row of the Creole quarters housing at Laurel Valley Plantation.

Photo courtesy of Jet Lowe, HAER



## Historic American Engineering Record

The Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) documents important engineering and industrial sites throughout the United States and its territories. The program is an integral component of the federal government's commitment to historic preservation. HAER documentation, consisting of measured drawings, large-format photographs, and written history, plays a key role in accomplishing the mission of creating an archive of American architecture and engineering.

## Laurel Valley Sugar Plantation

*Thibodaux, Louisiana*

Sugar production came to Louisiana in 1794. It was introduced to Louisiana from the Caribbean, where it had been commercially successful for the French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Danish. Laurel Valley Plantation is an example of a complete sugar-producing complex. The plantation contains a great deal of vernacular architecture of African

derivation. In addition, knowledge systems transferred from the Caribbean, the Atlantic Islands, and Africa made sugar cultivation possible.<sup>(11)</sup>

The Boudreaux family settled on what was the Laurel Valley Plantation in 1831, seeking a fortune from the profitable, but labor-intensive sugar cane crop. The family eventually sold

**Illustration 16:**  
This view illustrates a row  
of shotgun houses at Laurel  
Valley Plantation.

Photo courtesy of Jet Lowe, HAER



the property to Joseph Tucker in 1834, who expanded the production of the plantation. Laurel Valley eventually encompassed 5,000 acres. Tucker depended on the labor of enslaved Africans, increasing his number from 22 in 1831 to 160 by 1852.

Much of the original slave housing was destroyed by a later plantation owner and was replaced with double creole “T” quarters (a two-level, double pen house with a porch built in beneath the roof line) for workers. A “street” of double shotgun houses with porches, both African vernacular adaptations, includes 26 houses. (Illustrations 15, 15a, and 16) The shotgun houses are indicative of an established African-derived housing type, while the creole quarters point out a hybrid, merging architectural traditions that created a distinctive Southern housing type.

### **Places of Cultural Memory Conference**

“The Places of Cultural Memory: African Reflections on the American Landscape” conference was held May 9-12, 2001 in Atlanta, Georgia. The conference presented recent scholarship on Africanisms in the built environment. It brought together preservationists and academicians interested in developing a fuller understanding of the influence of African cultural heritage on the landscape of the Americas. The papers are compiled as a single volume, *Places of Cultural Memory: African Reflections on the American Landscape, Conference Proceedings, May 9-12, 2001, Atlanta, Georgia* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2001), and are available on-line at <http://www.cr.nps.gov/crdi/conferences/conflinks.htm>.

Two of the presentations are summarized below.

**“Interwoven Traditions: Archaeology of the Conjuror’s Cabins and the African American Cemetery at the Jordan and Frogmore Manor Plantations”**

Presented at the “Places of Cultural Memory” conference in Atlanta, Georgia, Kenneth L. Brown’s paper speaks to the importance of understanding material culture as interpreted by the enslaved Africans, not just searching for items of African origin or design. Brown conducted archeological research on excavations of the slave quarters of two plantations in distinctly different locations, Texas and South Carolina. The excavations revealed cosmograms, graphical depictions of the universe according to West and Central African religious beliefs, at both sites. However, instead of a drawing or inscription on pottery, for example, the cosmograms were buried beneath cabins.

The cosmograms found at the Jordan Plantation, Brazoria County, Texas used various items, from thermometers to brass Confederate military buttons and coins (dimes and quarters). According to Brown, these lie outside of direct African interpretation, but are examples of adaptation of western material culture for African religious practices. The items were located in deposits at the four cardinal directions. Another interesting aspect of the Jordan Plantation site was that it showed a mix of two West and Central African cultural groups, BaKongo and Yorubá.<sup>(12)</sup>

According to Brown, the cosmogram found at the Frogmore Manor Plantation, St. Helena Island, South Carolina had fewer European American elements and could more readily be interpreted in West African contexts. The cosmogram was located under what is believed to be the Conjuror/Midwife’s cabin at Frogmore Manor. Although glass, seashells, and nails were present, just as in the contents at the Jordan plantation, Brown notes the cosmogram deposits at the Frogmore Plantation have a more “African appearance” to them. The most notable distinction was the use of a fully articulated chicken and cow (save for its tail) in two of the four deposits. Cattle represent wealth in some African cultures, such as the Fulani in Nigeria, and chickens provide protection from spirits. Bottles and colono-ware with bottoms broken out were found along with the animals.<sup>(13)</sup>

The findings at the two plantations provide a means of comparison for research on similar locations throughout the South, and in places where African descendant people settled. In the Caribbean and South America, West African beliefs are common aspects of spirituality, and are more prevalent than in North America. Santería in Cuba, and Vodun, or Voodoo in Haiti, are examples of West African based beliefs, creolized in a Christian context. They are part of ongoing African reflections in the New World, which are being strengthened with the immigration of West African practitioners of traditional religious beliefs. Today, with increased numbers of Afro-Caribbean and African people moving to America, there is the potential for further cosmograms and items of worship to appear in art and as material culture artifacts, as well as those found “hidden from plain view.”<sup>(14)</sup>

**“Africanisms Upon the Land:  
A Study of African Influenced Place Names of the USA”**

In her paper, Annette Kashif examines the place-naming practices of African descendant people. Toponyms are reflections of a person or group’s power and dominion over a place. In the instances where African descendant people held influence over the landscape, it follows that the names would hold African connotations. These places ranged from towns to rivers and swamps. Linguistic characteristics have proven less dependent on time and place to maintain a cultural relationship to Africa. Language patterns survive beyond the direct influence of original speakers, past their presence in a place. Therefore, Kashif’s analysis goes beyond a one-to-one connection with African toponyms and places. This examination of toponyms encourages a broader interpretation of Africanisms, delving into more deep structure analysis, requiring further understanding of linguistic patterns of West and Central African languages.

Kashif offers three types of toponyms by which she classified the place names:

- place names derived from African words (African homophone), such as the Wando River in the Gullah/Geechee region of South Carolina, which is also the name of a river and a city (Kwando) in Angola
- place names from a mixture of words from several African language groups or an African and non-African word (African hybrid) such as Black Pocosin Mingo <sup>(15)</sup>

- African semantic content transfers (African calques) such as Nicodemus, Kansas, named for an enslaved African prince who purchased his freedom. Semantic transfers are not limited to inspirational figures, but can be an ethnic or linguistic reference, a duplication of another toponym, or a commentary on the human state-of-affairs.

According to Kashif, African American speech patterns are different from those of their European counterparts, due to the linguistic influences of the African languages that became creolized with English. These reflections show up in all aspects of American English inflected by African-derived speech. They include the names of places and the significance of what the names meant to those giving them. Using this sort of analysis, examination of place names in areas with influential African descendant communities should uncover additional Africanisms.

### **Conclusion**

The examples given above are intended to offer preservationists examples of the influence of African cultural heritage on the American landscape. It is hoped that these examples will encourage preservationists to re-examine cultural resources in their communities or under their purview to determine what may hold the imprint of Africa. From large public places to an individual house, the possibilities for identifying Africanisms are great. For every African Burial Ground, there is a cemetery with African-inspired grave decorations. For every shotgun district in Georgia, there is another row of such residences in a long abandoned industrial section in another location. Africanisms reside in all of those places where people of African descent were involved in the development of a community, from its physical structures to its cultural lifeways.

1. While visiting New Orleans in 1819, Benjamin Henry Latrobe described and drew the instruments used and dances taking place in Congo Square. John Vlach makes the connection with the instruments to Africa in his book, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 24-26. Cf. National Register of Historic Places, *Congo Square, New Orleans Parish, Louisiana. National Register #92001763*.
2. Following the lead of Roger Bastide, Midlo Hall believes that the influence of the enslaved Africans from Congo was overstated to the detriment of those from Senegambia. Hence, the name "Congo Square" may not be most representative of the dominant African ethnic group in New Orleans at the time. The formal name of the area recognized as Congo Square is Beauregard Square for Confederate General P.T.G. Beauregard, but it has been known as Circus Public Square and Place des Negres as well. Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 291-293, see f.n. 26.
3. See John Kleber, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Louisville* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 818-819.
4. Slave forts along the coast of modern Ghana, controlled by different European powers throughout their histories, were points of exportation for the Atlantic slave trade. The Danish established coastal trading posts by 1670. Frequently, captives were taken from the surrounding countryside, held in the forts until the ship was filled, either in the present port or by moving to another port along the West African coast. See Kwame A. Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds., *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience* (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), 830; Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 208-212.
5. First documented reference to the Burial Ground comes in a letter from Chaplain John Sharpe in 1712. In 1785, land development proposals for the common land indicates the Burial Ground was no longer in use. See National Historic Landmarks, *African Burial Ground Complex, New York, New York. National Historic Landmarks #93001597*.
6. The African Burial Ground Memorial effort has a tumultuous history. Only a portion of the Burial Ground is available for visitation, the rest being covered by the federal office building. Community pressure preserved the site from total destruction, and led to the Memorial, a statue "Triumph of the Spirit" and an Interpretive Center. The hundreds of remains, presently with the W. Montague Cobb Bio-Anthropology Laboratory at Howard University in Washington, DC, are to be returned to their final resting-place.
7. Secret societies operate as organizing polities for some West and Central African ethnic groups. See Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975), 315, 316, see f.n. 30, 317. Furthermore, ethnicities serve to bind members of clans to one another. A socially inferior family would be obligated to follow the lead of a superior one, determined by relationship of a family to the founder of local group. Cf. Charles Balandier, *Daily Life in the Kingdom of the Kongo* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968), 180-209, 213-226.
8. Historically, Guinea has been conceived of in two sections. Upper Guinea, according to Thornton, extended from the Senegal River to Cape Mount in Liberia; Lower Guinea was located between the Ivory Coast and modern Cameroon. The modern country of Guinea borders Guinea Bissau and Gambia on the north, the Ivory Coast and Liberia to the south, and Mali and Ghana to the east. See John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, second edition (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 187-192.

9. Clay Lancaster, *The Architecture of Historic Nantucket* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill, 1972), 242.
10. William D. Piersen, *Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth Century New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 22.
11. The cultivation of sugar cane has Afro-Caribbean and African antecedents. Muslims introduced sugar to North Africa during the eighth century. North and West Africans provided the necessary labor for the sugar boom throughout the Mediterranean, including Spain and Portugal. Most sugar cultivation took place in East Africa, but substantial industries flourished in Morocco, and later in the Atlantic islands of the Azores, the Canaries, Madeira, and Cape Verde, off the west coast of Africa. Christopher Columbus brought cane cuttings with him to Hispanola on his second voyage to the Americas in 1493. Familiarity with sugar cultivation and need for a larger work force found Portugal importing Africans to the Americas to work on plantations. African agricultural skill made possible the production of sugar cane in the Caribbean and United States. Africans from the Upper Guinea region had agricultural experience with difficult crops, such as indigo and rice, prior to sugar cane. See Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870*, (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1997), 135-137. *Africana* offers a summary of sugar and its relationship to Africa. See Appiah and Gates, ed., *Africana*, 1800-1803.
12. The inter-African cultural melding is consistent with trends in places of secondary and tertiary stages of migration. Brown discusses the use of BaKongo *nkisi*, a protection amulet or Conjuror's kit, and a possible *amula*, or symbol of reverence to Ogun, a Yorubá deity, in the cosmogram beneath the Jordan Conjuror/ Midwife's cabin. Deposits found beneath the Praise House may represent a creolized cosmogram with a Christian aesthetic, having a crucifix as the center and deposits radiating to the cardinal directions. Also, the similarity and compatibility of cosmograms to the Christian cross cannot be overlooked. Congo and Angola were exposed to Christianity prior to the Atlantic Slave Trade. The Praise House was the place for communal worship on the plantation for the African descendant people, found frequently in the coastal Carolinas and Georgia. There is also a cemetery that may contain further evidence of these African reflections. See Kenneth L. Brown, "Interwoven Traditions: Archaeology of the Conjuror's Cabins and the African American Cemetery at the Jordan and Frogmore Manor Plantations," in *Places of Cultural Memory: African Reflections on the American Landscape. Conference Proceedings, May 9-12, 2001, Atlanta, GA* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2001).
13. See note 7 in Chapter 3 for the significance of glasses and jars in funerary practices.
14. Brown, "Interwoven Traditions," 109. For more information on African religious beliefs in the New World, see Holloway, ed., *Africanisms in American Culture*.
15. Kashif found only one hybrid, Black Mingo Pocosin, a swamp bordering Virginia and North Carolina. Annette I. Kashif, "Africanisms Upon the Land: A Study of African Influenced Place Names of the USA," in *Places of Cultural Memory: African Reflections on the American Landscape. Conference Proceedings, May 9-12, 2001, Atlanta, GA* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2001), 27.

